

of the resolutions to a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and negative; and the question coming up on their final passage they were adopted—yeas 174, nays 9. The resolutions were as follows: Messrs. Abernethy, Clark, Aaron, Hildan, Haver, Geo. W. Jones, Macdonald, Parker, Puryear, and William R. Smith.

The resolutions, as adopted, are as follows: *Resolved, That the thanks of Congress be and they are hereby presented to* Daniel N. Ingraham, commanding the United States gallant-of-war St. Louis, for his judicious and gallant conduct on the 21 day of July last, in extending the protection of the American Government to Martin Kosta, by rescuing him from forcible and illegal seizure and imprisonment on board the Austrian brig Hussar.

Resolved, That the President of the United States be and he is hereby requested to cause to be made a medal, with suitable devices, and presented to Capt. Duncan N. Ingraham, in a testimonial of the high sense entertained by Congress of his valor, promptness, and judicious conduct on the above mentioned occasion.

Resolved, That the President of the United States cause the foregoing resolutions to be communicated to Capt. Duncan N. Ingraham, in such terms as he may deem best calculated to give effect to the objects thereof.

A brief debate ensued, without taking the question on the resolution, The House adjourned.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1854.

HOW ABOUT THE DAILY?

A slow growth it is if it should stand at the point where it is now, it will absorb the entire profits of the Weekly this year, and about \$50,000 more. So the kind friends who were so alarmed last we should grow rich, can now be reassured. Nevertheless, we are not sorry that we embarked in the new enterprise. We counted the cost, are not disappointed, and shall not complain. Never was a *Daily Era* more imperatively called for than now, when the Slave Power is conspiring to rob Freedom of Territory enough to make a dozen Free States. Our real friends will do what they can to lighten our burden, by working away for the Weekly, and sending us a subscriber to the Daily whenever they can. We do not trust to the large cities, but to the heart of the country. There is not working Anti-Slavery sentiment enough in any of them to sustain an Anti-Slavery press. How can there be, where Mammon is worshipped as a god?

A REVIEW—1787, 1854.

In 1787, an Ordinance was passed by the Congress of the Confederation for the Government of the Northwest Territory, the object of which had been surrendered by Virginia, New York, and Connecticut. That Ordinance contained a provision, in the form of a solemn compact, forever excluding Slavery from the Territory—the only Territory belonging to the Confederation.

In 1787, in the Convention that framed the Federal Constitution, power was conferred upon Congress to prohibit the importation of slaves in the year 1808; but at that day the universal opinion was, that to abolish the slave trade, or prohibit the supply of slaves, was a measure involving the extinction of Slavery itself.

In the same Convention the utmost care was taken to exclude from the Constitution the word "Slave," or "Slavery," because obnoxious to the great majority of the members; and to avoid the use of any language that might imply that human beings could be held as property. Nor could the provision in relation to slave representation, or fugitives from service or labor, have been carried in the Convention, but for the general understanding that Slavery was to be regarded as strictly local, to be limited to the States in which it already existed, which, it was also believed, were about to take measures for its extinction.

In the first Congress under the Constitution, a memorial was presented, signed by Benjamin Franklin and other Revolutionary patriots, praying that Congress would go to the verge of its constitutional powers against Slavery. It was received, respectfully referred, reported upon, and made the subject of a general debate—when, on motion, the report was ordered to be entered upon the Journal of the House. It affirmed the non-existence of power in Congress to legislate on the subject of Slavery in the States, but not elsewhere.

In 1808, the moment Congress had power, it passed an act for the total abolition of the slave trade. Meantime, State after State put an end to Slavery within its limits. Congress turned a deaf ear to the memorials of disappointed persons who sought to establish Slavery in Indiana, and uniformly, in the organization of particular Territorial Governments in the Northwest Territory, reaffirmed the Anti-Slavery article of the Ordinance of 1787. Anti-Slavery Societies existed in a majority of the States, including North Carolina, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Delaware.

The country was Anti-Slavery—the policy of Government was Anti-Slavery.

The Territory of Louisiana, having been purchased from France, contained slaves, and the settled portions lay along the borders of the slave States. As Congress forbore to legislate on the subject, slave institutions gradually, insidiously grew up in the Territory, until, in 1820, Missouri sought admission into the Union. It was attempted now to carry out the understanding of those who had framed the Constitution, to pursue the settled policy of the Government—the limitation of Slavery—to incorporate into the act authorizing the People of Missouri to form a State, a proviso excluding Slavery. But the Anti-Slavery sentiment encountered an opposition it was not prepared for. The purchase of Louisiana, the toleration of Slavery therein, the growth of the sugar-cane and the culture of cotton, had strengthened and enfolded the Slave Interest. But, bear this in mind—so strong and well assured was the Anti-Slavery sentiment, that its attitude was that of a superior. Freedom was evidently regarded on all hands as the Law; Slavery, the exception. The object was to thrust Slavery out of United States Territory; its only demand was, to be suffered to remain where it had so long been tolerated.

A compromise was suggested by a Northern man—who but a Northern man has always struck the first blow at Freedom? That compromise proposed to permit Missouri, although a part of it lay above 36 deg. 30 min., to come in as a Slave State, but with the express condition that thereafter, forever, Slavery should be prohibited in all the Territory lying north of that line, comprising nearly all the unorganized Territory of the Union.

This was the first great check received by the Anti-Slavery sentiment. From this time onwards, the march of the Slave Interest was towards: the popular movements against it began to relax: Anti-Slavery Societies gradually did away in the slaveholding States. The revival of the sentiment in 1833, and the new movements that followed, were not sufficient to repress the aggressive operations of Slavery. Texas, a department of Mexico, was brought under the control of American adventurers, who established Slavery there, in defiance of Mexican Law. Rebellion arose, ending in Revolution, which finally led to the annexation of the Province, as a State, to the United States. The Anti-Slavery sentiment had again rallied, though not as vigorously as in 1820; but it was still strong enough to require at least the shadow of a concession—and it was solemnly enacted that in any State or States, that might be erected out of Texas north of 36 deg. 30 min., Slavery should forever be prohibited. What had been left, however, to implication in 1820, in regard to the Territory of Louisiana, below 36 deg. 30 min., was in this case, owing to the increased power of the Slave Interest, made a matter of express enactment. All the States that might be formed out of Texas below that line, it was enacted, should be admitted into the Union, with or without Slavery, as their Constitutions should prescribe. This compromise, so far as Freedom was concerned, was a miserable mockery, as there was scarcely, if any room for a State north of 36 deg. 30 min., and in no event could it be expected that the State of Texas would give its consent to the organization of a Free State.

This was the second great triumph of the Slave Interest, but even here it was deemed necessary to concede something to the Anti-Slavery sentiment. In 1848, we acquired California and New Mexico, as the result of a war, precipitated by the Pro-Slavery party. The Territories were exempt from Slavery by Mexican law. All parties at the North were desirous to keep them free. The Slave Interest insisted that, as they had been acquired by the common blood and treasure of the Union, they ought to be thrown open for the benefit of all the people of the Union—that no restriction should be imposed upon them which would operate unfavorably against Slavery. Meantime, the people of California settled the matter for themselves, and, on the principle of squatter-sovereignty, announced in the Cass-Nicholson letter, founded a State Constitution excluding Slavery, and demanded admission into the Union. The Slave Interest, through its organs now is insisting upon the recognition of the principle, opposed it fiercely then, because its practical operation had inured to the gain of Freedom. A compromise was formed, as it was called. California, with the restrictive clause, was admitted as a free State; Utah and New Mexico were organized under Territorial Government, without the restrictive clause as to Slavery, but with an express proviso that States formed out of them should be admitted with or without Slavery, as their Constitutions might prescribe.

Here was another step in advance. In 1820 the Slave Interest asked for the toleration of Slavery, where it already existed, and for the admission of a State which recognised it—and agreed, if this were granted, to the perpetual exclusion of Slavery from the whole, or nearly the whole, of the unorganized Territory of the Union. In 1845, it simply insisted upon the application of the principle of this compromise to Texas. But, in 1850, it so far succeeded as reversing the original policy of the Government as to transfer to all the new free Territories acquired from Mexico, (except California, which had become a State), that tacit proviso of the Missouri Compromise, and express proviso of the Texas Compromise, which had been confined in them exclusively to Slave Territory.

There remained but one step more to take in this aggressive march of the Slave Interest, and the reversal of the original Anti-Slavery policy of the country and the Federal Government would be completed: that was, not a tacit or express toleration of existing Slavery, not a disregard of the *loci* of new free Territories acquired by conquest, and their exposure to the intrusions of Slavery, but the abrogation of American Law, established in the solemn form of a perpetual covenant, exempting all the old organized Territory of the Union from the curse of Slavery—in other words, the repeal of the Anti-Slavery proviso of the Compromise of 1820, so as to transfer to the free Territory which it has preserved inviolate for thirty-three years, the pro-slavery part of that Compromise, which originally applied only to Territory in which Slavery already existed. This step the Slave Interest has at last taken; the Nebraska Bill in the Senate is intended to consummate the policy of that interest, in relation to United States Territory, and to establish its complete and perpetual ascendancy.

Nebraska embraces the whole of the unorganized Territory of the Union—the extent of its boundary is over three thousand miles—its area about five hundred thousand square miles—capable of being formed into a dozen States, each as large as Ohio. This magnificent domain has been for a whole generation the heritage of Freedom—held, under the high sanction of American Law, sacred to Free Labor and Free Institutions. The Nebraska Bill proposes to abrogate this Law, to remove the flaming sword which has turned every way, guarding it against Slavery, and to allow the Destroyer to enter and do his work of death—or, to speak more plainly, to lay the foundations of a vast Slave Empire from the Gulf of Mexico to the British Provinces, dividing the Free States west of the Mississippi, from the Free States east of the Rocky Mountains, and thereby obtaining the mastery of the Mississippi Valley directly, and indirectly of both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts!

Now, look back upon the successive steps of this dangerous Power, which aims at no less than the subjugation of this entire North American Continent to Slavery. See how insidious has been its growth, how unrelenting its purpose, how it has fattened and grown insolent upon every compromise. See how the Free States, superior as they have been in wealth, and education, and population, have been constantly yielding, until the sentiments which were held by Franklin, Jay, Jefferson, and Lafayette, are now, in the year of our Lord 1854, deemed a disqualification for any office under the Federal Government, which has announced boldly its purpose to crush them out.

Contrast 1787 with 1854—Congress then stamping the Law of Freedom upon all Territory belonging to the Confederation—Congress now proposing to stamp the Law of Slavery on all Territory belonging to the Union.

Good God! and can it be that the American People have so utterly lost the love of Liberty, that an American Congress is so utterly demoralized and degraded, that this last, monstrous demand of the Slave Despotism will be conceded? We will not believe it. We will not believe that such a deed of infamy can be consummated in the best-educated, the mightiest, and most Christianized Republic the sun has ever shone upon.

WESTERN NAVIGATION.—The waters on the Ohio had risen yesterday, a number of steamers had arrived from below with freight, and the Union Line steamers were to begin their regular trips to Cincinnati and Louisville.

PHONETIC INSTRUCTION.—We learn from the Cincinnati *Type* of the Times, that Phonetic Instruction, as a means of learning to read the common print, has been introduced at the Cincinnati House of Refuge, through the influence of the Ohio State Agent, Mr. C. S. Royce.

THE NEBRASKA AFFAIR.

We are glad to see that the report on the subject of Nebraska in the Senate, and the bill which accompanies it, are beginning to be understood. Men of all parties are astounded that at this late day an attempt should be seriously made to abrogate the Missouri Compromise, for the purpose of forcing Negro Slavery into territory so long and so universally admitted to be free. Even the *New York Express* and *Journal of Commerce*, whose loyalty to the Compromise of 1850 is unquestioned, revolt at this new movement.

Another element will soon be added to the agitation. Hitherto, the naturalized Germans of this country have generally supported the Administration of General Pierce, not because they particularly liked his position on the Slavery question, but because they have supposed him and his party to be favorable to the cause of Freedom in Europe. But they have interested in America, as well as in Europe. They have no fondness for Slavery, and do not choose to labor with slaves. They have always considered the "Far West" sacred to Freedom, and felt grateful that there, they and those whom they love in their fatherland, when driven into exile, might find free homes and free institutions. What will they think of this new policy of the Administration, which aims insidiously to destroy the bulwarks of Freedom around this magnificent domain, so as to leave no spot of American territory sacred against the intrusions of Negro Slavery? Let them not be deceived. Such is the policy. The report and bill mean this, and nothing else.

We have heard something said about such a bill being necessary to vindicate the consistency of the Administration! And has this Administration come into power for the purpose of converting Free Soil into Slave Soil, and nationalizing Slavery?

It has also been hinted that, in drawing up this bill, some respect was due to the doctrines of Gen. Cass, in his Nicholson letter, respecting squatter sovereignty, and the absence of power in Congress to legislate on the internal concerns of a Territory. Clearly, it is said, according to those doctrines, the Missouri Compromise was not and is not constitutional. And so, to gratify General Cass, and give countenance to the absurd doctrine, which defeated his election to the Presidential chair, which have involved him in blundering and embarrassments, and which have been repudiated by the leading Democrats both North and South, Territory, except for one generation from Slavery, is now to be thrown open to its ravages!

Have the people fairly looked the crisis in the face? What is the two-fold demand of the Slave Power? "I require from the Supreme Court of the United States, a recognition of my claim to carry slaves into any Free State, to suit my convenience, no matter what their laws may be on the subject; and I also require from the Congress of the United States, a recognition of my claim to carry slaves at my pleasure into any American Territory, no matter what restrictions may have hitherto been enforced therein. In other words, I claim that my empire shall cover the length and the breadth of the entire area of all the States and Territories of this Union!"

What answer will the People return?

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE REAFFIRMED IN 1850.

The first section of the Nebraska bill provides as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all that part of the United States included within the following limits, except such portions thereof as are hereinafter expressly exempted from the operations of this act to wit: Beginning at the southwest corner of the State of Missouri; thence running west on the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude until it intersects the one hundred and third meridian of longitude; thence north, on the said meridian, until it intersects the forty-eight degrees of north latitude; thence east, on the said parallel of latitude, to the summit of the Rocky Mountains; thence northward, along and upon the summit of said range of mountain to the place of beginning of the Territory of Minnesota; thence southward, on the said boundary, to the Missouri river; thence down the centre of the main channel of said river to the State of Missouri; thence south, on and with the western boundary of said State, to the place of beginning of the Territory of Nebraska; hereby created into a temporary Government, by the name of the Territory of Nebraska, and when admitted as a State or States, the said Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without Slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission. Provided, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to inhibit the Government of the United States from dividing said Territory into two or more Territories, and admitting them as States, at such times as Congress shall deem convenient and proper, or from attaching any portion of said Territory to any other State or Territory of the United States."

The section closes with a provision, securing the rights of Indians in the Territory. The provision that the "Territory, or any part of it, when admitted as a State, or States, shall be received with or without Slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission," has no legitimate connection with the purpose of the bill, which is, to establish a Territorial Government; and it can have but one object, and that is, to give a pretext for a judicial decision in favor of the right to hold slaves in the Territory. The provision contemplates the existence of Slavery therein, or it is mere surplusage. Would the People of a State formed out of said Territory, provide in their Constitution for its recognition, if it did not exist already among them? The provision ignores the Proviso of the Missouri act of 1820, prohibiting Slavery forever in all Territory north of 36 deg. 30 min.

But, the bill contemplates the existence of Slavery in the Territory, not only through this provision, utterly irrelevant, unless intended to secure a substantial advantage to the pro-slavery party, but also in the section defining the powers of the Territorial Judiciary and the mode of judicial procedure.

Providing that writs of error and appeals from the final decisions of the Supreme Court shall be allowed and may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the value in controversy shall be over one thousand dollars, it adds:

"Except only that in all cases involving title to slaves, the said writs of error or appeals shall be allowed and decided by the said Supreme Court, without regard to the value of the matter, property, or title, in controversy; and except, also, that a writ of error or appeal shall also be allowed in the Supreme Court of the United States, from the decision of the said supreme court created by this act, or of any judge thereof, or of the district courts created by this act, or of any judge thereof, upon any such writ of error, or upon any such writ of appeal, involving the question of personal freedom."

This provision is copied from a section in the Territorial Bill of Utah, in which there were slaves when it was organized, as there are slaves there now—a condition of things which the present bill contemplates in Nebraska.

These facts, with the statements and explanations of the accompanying report, which assume that the validity of the Missouri Compromise is as unsettled a question as was that of the Mexican Law alleged to exclude Slavery, and that for this reason Nebraska should be

put on the basis of the Compromise of 1850, just as Utah was, leaving the question of the exclusion or admission of Slavery an open question, demonstrate the absolute necessity of annexing to the bill, as it stands, a clause reaffirming the Proviso of the Missouri act of 1820. As the old parties have been pledged, through their National Conventions, to sustain the Compromise of 1850, the supporters of this Bill will tell them that such a reaffirmation would be a violation of that pledge, as it would be in conflict with those measures. If there exist such a conflict, it is time the country should know it. If the Compromise of 1850 repealed the Proviso of the Missouri act, it was more corrupt and wicked than even its opponents considered it. But, so far from this assumption being true, the Missouri Compromise was sanctioned, and its Principle reaffirmed, in the Compromise of 1850. This point has hitherto been overlooked.

August 7th, 1850, the Texas Boundary Bill being under discussion in the Senate, Mr. Mason, of Virginia, moved the following, which was adopted:

"Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair or qualify anything contained in the article of the 2d section of the joint resolution for annexing Texas to the United States, approved March 1, 1845, either in regard to the number of States that may hereafter be formed out of the State of Texas, or otherwise."

What is this famous third article, thus explicitly and carefully guarded? It is the extension of the principle of the Missouri Compromise to Texas, as follows:

"That new States of convenient size, not exceeding four in number, in addition to said State of Texas, and having sufficient population, may hereafter by the consent of said State be formed out of the Territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission, under the provision of the said joint resolution. And such new States may be formed of that portion of said Territory lying south of 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri Compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union, with or without Slavery, as the people of said State asking admission may decide. And in such State or States as shall be formed out of said Territory north of said Missouri Compromise line, Slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, shall be prohibited."

Thus, by the act of the Compromisers themselves, the Principle of the Missouri Proviso was reaffirmed in and engrained upon one of the Compromise Measures of 1850—its object then being to secure certain advantages to Slavery. By their own act they are barred from resisting the reaffirmation of the Proviso itself in connection with a Bill ignoring that great measure in relation to the very Territory which it was intended to protect "forever" from Slavery. What was not repugnant to the Compromise of 1850, when Slavery was to be benefited, cannot be repugnant to them in 1854, when Liberty is to be secured in its just rights.

Let the resolution of Mr. Mason be taken as a precedent, and an amendment be introduced—that nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair or qualify anything contained in the section of the act for admitting Missouri as a State into the Union.

Nothing can be more reasonable, more fit, more necessary.

MISREPRESENTATION CORRECTED.

The *National Era* and the *Albany Atlas* now insist on a faithful adherence to the Missouri Compromise. We admit that the Missouri Compromise was intended as a permanent adjustment of the Slavery controversy. But yet, if we have read history aright, no party ever adopted that Compromise in its strictness, and the only sanctity it ever had, was that which it gained by a long period of acquiescence.

But notwithstanding that long period of acquiescence, Free Soil fanaticism repudiated it when Oregon became a Territory of the United States.

When the bill to give Oregon a Territorial Government was before the House of Representatives, Mr. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, moved to apply to it the Anti-Slavery prohibition of the Ordinance of 1787—which is word for word the same as the Missouri Compromise. It was carried, many able and patriotic men thought that it was a virtual repeal of the Missouri Compromise. But Mr. Polk signed the bill with the offensive clause in it, on the ground, as he stated in a special message, that Oregon was north of the Missouri Compromise line, which was intended to be a permanent adjustment of the Slavery question, and that the Winthrop Provision was mere surplusage.

Free-Soilism, having gained thus much by the Missouri Compromise, refused to abide by that Compromise any further; for when the Missouri treaty gave us California, and New Mexico, and Utah, every effort to extend the principles of the Missouri Compromise was most violently resisted, and that Compromise was virtually repudiated, and the Missouri Compromise repudiated. This abrogation of the Missouri Compromise—this denial and repudiation of its binding force, made it necessary that a new Compromise should be made.

"Second," that the provisions of the Constitution and laws of the United States, in respect to fugitives from service, are to be carried into faithful execution in all "the organized Territories," the same as in the States.

"Third," that the provisions of the provision of the Missouri Compromise, which relate to the Territory of Nebraska under the shelter and protection of the Compromise acts of 1850, as if the Missouri Compromise had never been adopted, without any special authority for saying so, are to be carried into faithful execution, and that the provisions of the Missouri Compromise, which relate to the Territory of Nebraska under the shelter and protection of the Compromise acts of 1850, as if the Missouri Compromise had never been adopted, without any special authority for saying so, are to be carried into faithful execution, and that the provisions of the Missouri Compromise, which relate to the Territory of Nebraska under the shelter and protection of the Compromise acts of 1850, as if the Missouri Compromise had never been adopted, without any special authority for saying so, are to be carried into faithful execution, and that the provisions of the Missouri Compromise, which relate to the 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STATE OF EUROPE—NAVAL POWER OF THE UNITED STATES.

A Telegraphic despatch in our last paper stated that private letters received in New York from Liverpool, announced that war had been declared by England and France against Russia. Whether the intelligence by the next arrival shall confirm this report or not, we certainly shall not be surprised to see all Europe, ere long, involved in a general war. What will be the bearings of such an event upon the relations and interests of this country?

In the protracted and fearful conflicts growing out of the French Revolution, it required all the wisdom, address, and steadfastness of our greatest statesmen to preserve a neutral attitude towards the contending Powers. The passions and antipathies of our own People, the intrigues of Foreign Governments, and their gross violations of our maritime rights, made it a most difficult and delicate task to maintain such a position. And yet neutrality was clearly our duty. Justifiable as was the French Revolution in the beginning, there was nothing in the wars that followed which could justify our sympathies of this country with either of the great contending parties. It was then no more a struggle for existence on the part of France, than for the liberty of Europe on the part of England. Both Powers were inflamed by the worst passions, and conducted the contest recklessly, unscrupulously, and in utter disregard of the rights of nations.

While our position enabled us to reap a harvest from the carrying trade, our weakness, and want of any Naval Force, exposed us to the most flagrant outrages. Our ships were plundered and confiscated; our flag was violated; our seamen were impressed; the nation was insulted by the armed vessels of England entering our harbors and committing petty acts of depredation.

During all this time, the idea of building a Navy was indignantly scouted by the Democratic Party and by the South. It was regarded as one of the most mischievous of all Federal notions. Thomas Jefferson regarded it with peculiar aversion, as repugnant to Democratic Institutions. He and his Southern compatriots preferred retiring from the ocean altogether, to building up a navy to protect commerce. Rather than go to war to defend maritime rights, let every ship that sails from our shores be sunk! exclaimed a fervent orator from the Plantation region; and this school of statesmen prevailed. Here and there was a struggling vessel of war, which was demolished to run for shelter whenever the British were about, but a navy was not to be tolerated. Commerce was to be its own protector. If violated, non-importation acts and embargoes would bring the trespassers to terms. As for guarding the coast, gun-boats would perform that service. So Jefferson reasoned and acted, carrying on a commercial war, at the expense of commerce; economizing and paying off the debt of the country, but leaving it without defence, while, by habitual submission to flagrant insult and wrong, he invited aggression, and by embargoes and non-importation acts, only aggravated the hostile feelings already existing. During his entire administration and that of Madison up to the Declaration of War, in 1812, this anti-naval policy prevailed to such an extent, indeed, that only a few months before the breaking out of the war, the Democratic majority in Congress refused to vote even the petty sum of \$300,000 to refit two or three frigates; and immediately after war was declared, it was seriously proposed, in Washington, to retain at home the five frigates, two sloops, and five brigs-of-war, our only naval force, in apprehension of their capture should they venture to put to sea!

We never read this chapter in our history, without a feeling of deep humiliation. If, instead of paper protests for a dozen years, a war of embargoes, and the faces of gun-boats, we had built, in the beginning of troubles, an efficient navy, and put it in active service as a sea police, to watch over our ships and sailors, it would have done infinitely more to prevent war, than all the long-suffering and long-winded memorials of Madison and Jefferson. We did not want a navy for purposes of war, but for police purposes. England and France saw that we had none; our commerce was a tempting prize; the naval arm of England were urgent; American ships could be violated without danger, and so we were plundered by both Powers, till absolutely driven by desperation, at last to resort to arms. A moderate but active and efficient naval force would have probably prevented that accumulation of wrongs which finally provoked this calamitous event.

Has History no lesson for us? As we said in the beginning of this article, the indications foreshadow a general war in Europe. What may be its varying phases, no one can predict. At first, a struggle between the Western nations and the overwhelming Despotism of the East, Revolution may burst forth at any moment, and substitute a war of Principles for a war of Rival Interests, in which the Parties now allied may be divided, and the Parties now antagonistic may be united. Meantime, our flag would float on every sea, our ships be freighted with the products of all climes. Questions like those which sprung up between France and England in the beginning of this century, might be revived; neutral rights might be again drawn into controversy. As a matter of fact, the war of 1812 determined no question connected with those rights, nor has England or France ever discovered any of the offensive pretensions they then set up; so that we may again be called upon to vindicate the rights and privileges of neutral nations. What, then, is the best safeguard against the repetition of insults and outrages which would inevitably lead to instant war? A respectable, an efficient and active naval force, ready to protect our flag against violation on every sea, against assaults which would only be attempted when impunity could be hoped for. It would be madness to burden the resources of the country with building and maintaining vast squadrons to match those of England and France. We do not need them; nor shall we ever need them, if we keep aloft a force sufficient to act as a police for the protection of our commerce, in turbulent times, against the insolence and aggression of irresponsible naval officers.

Need we say, that the considerations we have presented constrain us to approve, on the whole, of the recommendations of the Secretary of the Navy for an increase of our naval force? So far as we can see, they are prudent, and not conceived in any spirit of aggression. Nor are they any more in conflict with the policy of Peace than the recent movement in New York to establish a more efficient police. The best remedy against mobs and riots is, an organized force, strong and well-ordered enough to prevent violence by overawing the evil-doers. So, the best way to prevent war is, to have a Police on the ocean, strong enough to prevent the commission of those irresponsible acts of violence which always tend to war. No nation should suffer itself to be caught twice in the predicament in which our found itself during the European wars in the beginning of this century.

General Wool leaves for California on the 20th inst.

WILL THEY NEVER LEARN?

"A burnt child dreads the fire;" is a proverb that does not always hold good of politicians. They are apt to rely too much upon cunning, too little upon the lessons of experience. One might suppose that the Compromise Measures of 1850 had proved the death of so many, that there would be little disposition to revive the issues then passed upon, and to recast the arrangements then forced through Congress.

Who has been the gainer by that "settlement," as it is facetiously styled? Where are the men prominent in bringing it about? WESTER, heart-broken by the disappointment and embarrassments to which it involved him, sleeps in the grave. CLAY was saved from the same fate, only by death. FILLMORE was unable to obtain the vote of a National Whig Convention, against a rival candidate who had performed no signal service for the Compromise.

CASS, BUCHANAN, DICKINSON, DOUGLAS, were thrust aside in a National Democratic Convention, to make room for one who had taken no part in the great labor of Union-saving. COBB is politically dead, by the hands of members of his own Party. FORTS is defeated in Mississippi, and rated by "the organ," while his rival, DAVIS, distinguished for his opposition to the Compromise, holds a comfortable seat in the Cabinet, beside MARCY, the head of that section of the New York Democracy that originally upheld the Wilmot Proviso, through whose influence, DICKINSON, (the Chevalier Bayard, as the Compromisers used fondly to call him), and his lesser Chevaliers, are outcasts from Executive favor.

We can easily understand why the Administration is so zealous in behalf of the Compromise: General Pierce and his associates are the only politicians who have profited by it, so far as the emoluments and distinctions of office are concerned; but it is marvellous that Cass, Douglas, and all that genus, should evince so profound a devotion to it, as to seek its re-affirmation. They certainly gained nothing by the "settlement" of 1850, and we can tell them they will gain a great deal less by the attempt to unsettle Nebraska. They are Western men—men from the free States of the West—their constituents will not thank them for countenancing a conspiracy to plant a series of slave States along the track of the Pacific railroad, between the West and the Pacific ocean.

There can be no pretence, in this case, of Nationality, or devotion to the Union. Party lines have not been drawn upon the Question. It has hitherto sorely been made a Question. The country has not been agitated—the Union imperilled. All that was needed for the organization of Nebraska, was a quiet settled purpose on the part of members representing the non-slaveholding interests, to put through both Houses a simple bill for that purpose. No agitation was necessary. Such a bill passed the House last year, and not a word was uttered in regard to Slavery. It was too clearly right, to be opposed by any organized hostility among the Southern members. Many of them voted for it, feeling, doubtless, that opposition from them would be too flagrantly sectional. Had the same policy prevailed among Northern men this year, there could have been no serious difficulty. Beyond all doubt, Nebraska would have been organized, with almost as little discussion as took place in relation to the Territory of Washington, or Minnesota. It would have been regarded *free*, as a matter of course.

Who has broken up this unity among Northern men? Who has hatched this infernal plot, to disorganize the North, and invite Slavery to new aggressions? For what accused object is this Pandora's box opened? Thus always is Freedom stabbed in the house of her professed friends. Thus always come from the North the brain that devises the hand that inflame dishonor and injury upon it.

We hope Mr. Douglas is not the author of that Report, or Bill—that as chairman of the Committee, he acts only as its mouth-piece—we hope that, as an individual member of the Senate, he will take occasion to review this whole matter, and, ere it be too late, relieve himself from all responsibility for a measure which must sink any Northern politician who shall attempt to support it.

DUELING.

We would not have any one understand, by the remarks in yesterday's paper, introducing the account of the Soule duels, that we consider the question of the morality of duelling at all a doubtful one. The practice is barbarous, wrong, and absurd. This is the prevailing sentiment of Christendom, whatever code the "men of honor" may devise for themselves.

Who thinks better of any man for having fought a duel? Was it necessary to attest the courage of Hamilton? Had he declined the challenge, would his reputation for heroism have suffered? What could he prove by standing up to be shot at? Not the possession of patriotism, virtue, integrity, truth, honor, or Burr, who was destitute of all these, stood on the same level, exposed, as he believed, to the same danger? And what did cold-blooded man gain? Did he despise prejudice, win public confidence, compel belief in the purity of his character? He killed his man, and became a wandering Cain—the blood of the murdered upon his soul, hated and abhorred by the country, one of those greatest and best men he had slain.

All duels are as senseless, if not so atrocious, and so deplorable in their consequences, as that.

A member of Congress applies a rude epithet to a brother member. Retraction or explanation is demanded, and refused. The offended member goes to the field of honor, to prove the injustice of the epithet, by giving the offending member a chance to shoot him! Cogent logic! Excellent sense! Suppose the charge be that he is no gentleman, or that he is guilty of an untruth, does he prove that he is a gentleman, and that he is truthful, by receiving the contents of his adversary's pistol in his stomach, or by lodging the contents of his in his adversary's liver? He may do both, and yet be a liar and a blackguard; for liars and blackguards have fought duels, and escaped unscathed.

As the world grows more sensible, this practice loses ground, as much on account of its absurdity as wickedness. In the earlier part of this century, it was as prevalent at the North as it has since been in the South, but it has almost disappeared thence, before the advance of a higher and more humanized form of civilization. In the South it still maintains its ground; but it is evidently on the decline. There are fewer duels in Washington than formerly.

We have observed many incipient, but no consummated duels since we have been here. Friends are always on the alert, with Pickwickian explanations, to satisfy Honor without damaging the Man. Congress has lost nothing, but rather gained in manners, by the change. Men are not to be trained to good manners by their fears and by gunpowder, but by the cultivation of their intellect and moral nature, by the education of their higher tastes and sentiments, and by the development of their self-respect.

Carvajal and a number of other filibusters have gone to California, to take their trial before the United States court.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE—A correspondent of the New York Tribune, in his letter of the 10th inst., says:

"Mr. Atchison is known to be rather Southern in his feelings, and his hatred of Colonel Butler is strong to the point of being almost respected of opposition to the central route on account of the interest felt in it by his colleague. There can be very little sympathy between the great majority of the people of Missouri and Senator Atchison, and it is probably true, as I have heard suggested, that in the event of his failure to be returned in the Senate, he will remove to Texas."

We know nothing of the grounds on which this conjecture is based; but we are sure that the pro-slavery sentiments and actions of Mr. Atchison will never be sustained by the people of Missouri.

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

Senate, January 12, 1854.

The Chair laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting the report of the officers appointed to select a site for a military asylum at the West. Referred.

Mr. Heller said that no quorum of the Judiciary Committee was in attendance. With a view of enabling that committee to proceed with its business, he moved that an additional member be appointed to act until the regular members shall have arrived; and the motion was agreed to.

Mr. Cooper presented the memorial of the Accessory Transit Company, signed by its President, Charles R. Morgan, praying the passage of an act which will authorize the company to have the right to obtain American registers; the steamers were owned principally by citizens of New York, though the company was chartered by the State of Nicaragua; and under the construction of the act, the company would not be liable for the payment of the pay of the Secretary of the Senate, and the auditing of its accounts by a committee of the Senate, were the parts omitted. The accounts are audited by the Treasury, and no change is proposed in that particular.

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Mr. Eastman opposed the amendment on account of the erroneous character of the Census report. Mr. Bissell admitted that there were errors in the document, but contended that they were as few as in any similar work ever published; and, after having gone to the expense of \$1,500,000, would not poor economy to withhold it from the public.

Mr. Straub wished to know if certain important omissions could not be supplied before the publication. He alluded especially to certain mineral staples of different sections of the country.

Mr. Skelton supported the amendment. He was opposed to voting books to members of Congress, but wished the people of the country to know in all its details the extent, the wealth, the population, and the power of the States. Mr. Eastman, of Pennsylvania, was always in favor of presenting to the people, in the most direct manner possible, all information of interest to them; and he regarded the Census returns as information of the most valuable character.

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THIS remedy is offered to the community with confidence we feel in an article which is calculated to realize the happiest effects that can be desired. It is wide is the field of its usefulness and so numerous are the cases of its cures, that almost every section of the country abounds in persons, publicly known, who have been restored from alarming and even deadly diseases of the lungs by its use. When once tried, its superiority over every other medicine of its kind is so apparent to escape observation; and where its use is well known, the public no longer hesitate when called to employ for the distressing and dangerous

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cures is priceless to them. Parents should
their children are priceless to them. All
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it should it be circulated here, but every
not only in this country, but in all countries.
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down in the fact that already this article has
be a circle of the globe. The sun never sets
limits. No continent is without it, and but fe
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being good in the world, as well as the satisfaction
believing that much has been done already.

Prepared by J. C. AYER, Chemist, Lowell,
Sold in Washington by Z. D. GILMAN, an
apothecary and Dealer in Medicine everywhere.